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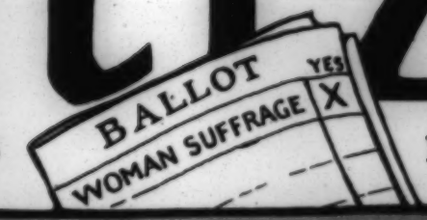
December 29, 1917

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S FOUNDED 1870



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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE *and* HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue

New York

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Follow The Vote and the Voter in the Woman Citizen from issue to issue.

You will be met more than half way with what you want to know about voting.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2 and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

Reported from Committee

September 13, every member of Committee approving.

IN THE HOUSE:

Raker resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House adopted by the House September 24 by a vote of 181 to 107.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 29, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Republicans Want the Credit

THE Republicans are making a bid for the honors if the Federal Suffrage Amendment passes. That the Republican side of the House will give a two-thirds majority with votes to spare is the statement of Representative Mondell of Wyoming. It seems that the Republicans not only don't want the blame if the amendment is defeated but do want the credit for its victory. Only a solid Republican vote, according to Republican opinion, can take from the party in power the glory of such a victory.

Republican leaders are pointing out today that when the last suffrage amendment vote was taken, in 1915, it would have passed if the proportion of Democrats voting for the measure had been as large as that of the Republicans.

As a War Measure

THERE are a few of America's national legislators left who profess to believe that insuring the right of self-government to women is not timely during a war to insure the right of self-government to the world. There are a few American editors left who still maintain that the right of self-government for one-half the American people is a minor, a negligible, object at a time when self-government for Europe is holding attention.

HUNGARIAN WOMEN TO VOTE IF DIET PASSES THIS BILL

LONDON, December 23. — The Minister of Justice has introduced an electoral reform bill in the Hungarian Diet giving the vote to every Hungarian citizen, male *and female*, twenty-four years of age and able to read and write. It provides for secret voting and the conveying of voters to the polls by railways at state expense. The Minister is preparing a redistricting bill.

Meantime, country by country, Europe is recognizing woman suffrage as a war measure and has either put it into effect or is insuring the facilities for putting it into effect, by parliamentary procedure. Count on the list since the war began England, Canada, Russia, France, Italy, Denmark, Iceland—and now Hungary.

Why is America so laggard?

Right as Usual

DR. SHAW, as chairman of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense, has issued a Decalogue of War for women that challenges renewed attention to this noted citizen's ability to hit the nail plunk on the head. These are the war commandments defined by Dr. Shaw:

"Do not chatter. Keep to yourself the news you hear.

"Do not listen to alarmists or slackers.

"Be moderate in your spending, neither lavish in gifts nor sordid in your economies.

"Encourage national industries, avoiding imported ones.

"Do not look upon the departures for the front of those dear to you as an abandonment. Be with them constantly in thought, as they are with you, particularly in the hour of danger.

"Do not complain of the difficulties, annoyances and privations caused by the war.

"Multiply your activities in your home as well as outside.

"Exhibit day by day and hour by hour the same courage a man shows upon the field of battle.

"No matter how long the struggle may last, await victory with strength and patience.

"If you are stricken in your dearest affections bear your sorrow nobly, that your tears may be worthy of the hero whose death you mourn."

The Soldier Suffrage Vote

COMING "pat betwixt too early and too late," the soldier vote established several things. Its isolation, after the first vote had been counted, staged it so dramatically that its import can not be lost upon the most prejudiced or the dullest mind. It capped with ridicule the anti-suffrage hysteria about suffrage in New York being a pro-German, Socialist, or even a Democratic victory.

The antis have tried to work a patent, reversible, fit-any-case argument, their ulterior aim being to correlate the suffrage strength with any party which might be immediately obnoxious to the persons whom they desire to reach, and their immediate aim being to demonstrate that only traitors and slackers voted for woman suffrage. To make their case on these grounds they

have had to show that there are 690,000 disloyal men in the state of New York, pseudo-information which must be most acceptable to the Kaiser's pro-German tools in this country. This form of giving "aid and comfort to the enemy" by strengthening anti-war prejudices has not troubled the consciences of this little group of alleged thinkers who acclaim themselves as the only original patriots in the United States.

It took the soldier vote to quash, finally and completely, their intention to discredit suffrage. And this not only because it utterly disproved the charge of pro-German, Pacifist alliance, but because it gave added emphasis to the non-partisan quality of suffrage sentiment. If any proof were lacking to show that the chief political parties recognize the non-partisanship of the vote for suffrage it would be found in the statement of ex-Republican County Chairman Frederick C. Tanner in his appeal to Manhattan Republicans concerning the right of New York County women to have equal voting opportunities with men.

"An unquestioned majority has spoken on the subject and that should put an end to all discussion," said Mr. Tanner. He said also that the soldier vote of two to one should effectively refute the suggestion that woman suffrage was won by either the pro-German or the Socialist vote. The eagerness with which the right hand of Republican fellowship was outstretched to women voters was a clear showing that New York Republicans are the last men in the world to admit that credit for the women's victory must be wholly given to voters outside of the Republican ranks.

Women Police in Great Britain

WHEN the war broke out, training camps for soldiers were immediately established in many parts of Great Britain and the usual temptations and moral dangers were much in evidence. To meet this situation, the Council of Women organized a Woman's Patrol Movement. It was at once officially recognized by the Government, but received no financial support. In the main the patrols were volunteer. In 1915 there were 1,916 women patrols. The aim was to keep young girls off the street at night, particularly in the vicinity of military camps, with a view to preventing the increase of immorality. Its method is to provide superior attractions in the form of clubs and entertainment.

Miss Damer Dawson organized the Women Police Volunteers. An eight weeks' training for recruits comprised practical instruction in police duty, the study of civil and criminal law and the study of police court procedure. This movement was quite independent of the Government. In August, 1915, however, the head of the Women's Police Service received the assurance of the Government that no objection would be raised "to the employment of women on police duties of the kind they are naturally qualified to perform whenever a responsible local authority considers such a course desirable."

In August, 1916, a resolution was passed providing that women who are doing the work of constables be treated as constables and paid as constables. Women, therefore, came on the regular police staff with equal standing with those of the same rank. Women police patrol in uniform.

Their work consists in patrolling, attending police court, inspecting halls of entertainment, lodging houses, etc. Women police have been officially appointed in twelve towns. Their training, however, is still dependent upon the "Women Police Service," which is supported by voluntary contributions only.

As along other lines, the women proved their efficiency and usefulness by voluntary service. And as along other lines the Government admitted the value of the service after the demonstration, and in February, 1917, appealed to the Women's Police Service for 300 efficient women to work in the areas in which Government work was being done by women and specified that constables, sergeants and superintendents were wanted.

Later the Government appealed for 10,000 such women police. As an evidence of the remarkable and complete change of view of the public mind, a writer has pointed out that the same people who with supercilious comment professed to be shocked and disgusted with the first women police in uniform, were noisily finding fault with all womankind because the entire 10,000 "efficient women" were not immediately forthcoming when the Government asked for them.

Has the policewoman come to stay? It is an interesting question from which time as yet withholds the answer. C. C. C.

School Registration Increased

IN Boston, 21,624 women registered to vote before the current school election. This is the largest number that have registered at any time during the 38 years since the right was granted. At the first election, in 1879, only 989 women registered, and 934 voted.

The number voting has fluctuated up and down, and whenever it fell off, even a little, the anti-suffragists have always called attention to the fact. Therefore we call attention to this year's big increase. A. S. B.

The Federal Amendment—Why?

ONE of the most inspiring features of the National Suffrage Convention was the evening when the New York victory was celebrated. Everybody was in an exultant mood, and with reason. One of the most important and difficult states in the Union had been carried, and carried by a big majority. One after another, women who had borne their part in the struggle told of the campaign. To listen to them was not only an inspiration, but an education. They told us how New York was won. It was won by doing more things than can be enumerated here. Only a few of the high lights can be chosen.

Mrs. Raymond Brown said: "The women of New York state followed out a logical plan of campaign, begun by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Mrs. Catt said, 'If you can get the women interested, and interested enough, and enough of them interested, they will put it over.' We got enough interested. A vast number of women worked for the victory."

Miss Hay said of New York city, "It was not the five borough leaders but the 2,080 precinct captains that carried it." There

was splendid team play, all pulling together. Mrs. Willis G. Mitchell went so far as to say that in a campaign "it is better to do the wrong thing all together than the right thing separately." It was done by a long pull. Tribute was paid to the brave women who had worked at the task for the past seventy years. Above all, it was done by intensive organization. Miss Hay said: "We won, first, because of a continuous campaign in New York city, begun eight years ago. On election day in 1915, about midnight, when we knew that suffrage had not carried, we decided to have a new campaign, and we began forthwith. We won, in the second place, because of organization along district political lines. No state need ever go into campaigns again unless the women are willing to organize along political district lines, and to stick to it."

The campaign represented an immense amount of work, in many different fields. There were 11,085 meetings reported to the state officers, besides many that were never reported. Women of all classes labored together. "If you want to reach the working men," said Rose Schneiderman, "remember that it is the working women who can reach them." The campaign cost $682,-500. This sum, which lasted for two years and covered the whole state, was less than half the amount spent in three months in New York city to elect a mayor. The largest single gift to the women's campaign was $15,000. Most of the money was given in small sums, and represented innumerable sacrifices—like that of one inmate of an Old Ladies' Home who was allowed ten cents a month to go to the movies, and gave up her only bit of amusement to contribute to the cause.

Mrs. Whitehouse, who had led the whole victorious campaign, said in closing the magnificent meeting: "Our advice is not to have state campaigns. They ask too many sacrifices of women. Work for the Federal Amendment." A. S. B.

Consider Some More Facts

OPPONENTS of woman suffrage who try to show that only enemies of the country masquerading as Pacifists and Socialists, voted for woman suffrage in New York on November 6 have been bowled over so completely by the two-to-one pro-suffrage soldier vote that it is like offering sugar to a fly drowning in molasses to ask them to consider any more of those "facts" by which Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, for instance, has sought to sustain their case. Yet there are some well worth considering before any more such hazardous suggestions are allowed to emanate from the anti camp.

For instance while you are considering, consider the 10th in Manhattan, where Mitchel, who is alleged to have carried the vote of the patriotic, led by 1,200, and suffrage won by 2,900. Consider the 7th, where also Mitchel led by about 1,100, and suffrage won by about 1,300. Consider the 9th, where Mitchel led by 1,700, and suffrage won by approximately 1,500.

Consider the 21st in Brooklyn, where Mitchell received the highest district vote cast for him and suffrage received one of the highest pluralities recorded for it, namely, 1,966. And side by side with it, consider the 20th, where Hylan's pro-German vote is alleged to have elected him and note that here suffrage won by only 750.

Consider the 1st Assembly District in Queens, with an industrial and largely German population, note that the Hillquit and Hylan vote together totaled 8,363, yet here was rolled up one of the heaviest votes against suffrage in the whole state, 4,235 voting No. It won by only 816 votes. Jump over into A. D. 4, Flushing, a residential district and not German, and note that while Mitchel was polling 3,720 votes, as compared with his 1,808 in the First, suffrage was rolling up a plurality of 1,300.

We have quite a collection of these facts for the opponents of suffrage to consider as from issue to issue we deal them out.

In England

IT is expected that the British representation of the People Bill, which includes the famous woman suffrage clause, will receive the Royal assent some time this month. Under the provisions of the original clause women over thirty, married and single, were admitted to the parliamentary franchise. As amended in the last weeks of 1917, the provisions of the clause were extended to include municipal suffrage to wives whose husbands are municipal electors, these wives having been previously excluded from municipal suffrage, though single women and widows have had it for years.

In New York

ONE of the first tasks of the New York Legislature in the 1918 session will be, it seems, the enactment of suitable legislation to take care of the registration of the 2,000,000 women admitted to the electorate on November 6, 1917.

As the case stands, New York women have been enfranchised, but have not been registered, some special elections are pending and unless the necessary registration facilties be provided between now and spring they would be excluded from the polls because there had been no anterior registration. When you exclude electors from electing you are nearly sure to have trouble.

At Washington

WHEN Mrs. Catt planned for the state delegations at the suffrage convention to wait upon their congressmen with pleas for the federal amendment she put suffrage in the way of more immediate and more definite results than all the stunts and all the spectacles and all the mass meetings of ten years could accomplish. Assembled in senators' rooms or representatives' rooms, the women brought an unmistakable word from "back home." In the result thirty-five House votes swung over from the "no" into the "yes" column. Victory for the measure seems assured when the House reaches it on January 10, the date now set for the vote.

Real Fearless!

"THE anti-suffrage women of the country—and they are the great majority—still believe in American men; and they are confident that the men in whose hands our government rests will be as fearless in facing Lucy Burns and even Mrs. Catt herself as our soldiers in facing the Crown Prince and von Hindenberg."—*Anti-Suffrage Notes.*

The House Situation Reviewed

Special Correspondence from Washington

THE House of Representatives will vote on the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment January 10. That is the agreement which has been reached by the Rules Committee, and suffragists are building their expectations accordingly.

And those expectations are the highest. There is a general wave of confidence that the resolution will pass—a wave which is not felt by suffragists alone. Even those hostile or pessimistic newspapers which two weeks ago were publishing adverse polls and proving in various ways that both prohibition and suffrage were bound to fail are now showing signs of conversion to the widespread belief that the woman's hour has indeed struck, and that woman will come into her own, so far as the House of Representatives can give it, on the 10th of January.

The two most tangible factors in the confidence of friends of suffrage are the passage of the prohibition amendment and a discussion and vote in the House a few days ago on a minor suffrage issue. The victory for prohibition inevitably breaks ground to some extent for the suffrage amendment by depriving certain members of Congress who voted for it of a leg to stand on when they come to our amendment. But the victory is, in a far bigger way, a factor because it is indisputably a sign of the times which men cannot escape. Mrs. Catt puts it thus:

"The time has come when our legislators are seeing things nationally. Even southern members who have professed to stand on a state rights platform have yielded their position on the prohibition amendment. To do this and hold out against the suffrage amendment would be to confess that they use the state rights argument only as a convenient pretext. We have thought it indefensible in any case not to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment, but now to submit another amendment and not submit ours would be doubly indefensible."

CONSIDER, for example, the case of the Hon. E. Y. Webb, of North Carolina, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, author of the prohibition amendment in the House, and arch opponent of woman suffrage. Here is an extract from his speech on the floor of the House during the prohibition debate:

Mr. Webb: First, gentlemen, this is not a prohibition vote. It is a question of referendum. Will you balk on submitting to states of the nation this great question whether or not liquor as a beverage shall be banished from the country? Are you afraid to trust the states? The states made the Constitution, reserving to themselves the right to amend it, and that is when two-thirds of both Houses of Congress deem it necessary that an amendment should be submitted. I submit to you gentlemen, "wets" and "drys" alike, that you should be willing to stand by your states in giving them the opportunity to amend the greatest instrument ever struck off by the pen of man, and submit to the 48 sovereign states the question whether liquor as a beverage should be banished from the land. [Applause.] . . . There is no question of state rights in this proposition. It is the right of the states to have the opportunity to determine whether or not they shall vote to amend the Constitution. That is a sovereign right of which they should not be deprived, and which they provided for in that great instrument. If three-fourths of the states say that the manufacture and sale of liquor for beverage purposes shall be stopped, then it is the highest sovereign prerogative left to the states to say that, and there is absolutely no violation of state rights when that question is submitted to them in that way.

WOULD you believe it? But Mr. Webb will probably be one of the few men willing to put themselves in the category Mrs. Catt defines, so watch for the *Congressional Record* of January 10 and Mr. Webb therein. The gentleman from North Carolina will doubtless be found contending that for the national government to grant political liberty to one-half the people of the nation would be a violation of the sacred rights of the states guaranteed in the national Constitution. (No such guarantee is contained in the Constitution, of course. Senator Walsh disposed of that heresy in his speech at our hearings before the Senate Committee last April.) But Mr. Webb is one of those politicians who will never be consistent until too late.

THE other tangible forerunner of success of January 10 is the result of a vote in the House the other day on the question of referring Miss Laura Clay's measure, the Federal Elections bill, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections where it now lies, to the new Committee on Woman Suffrage, of which Judge Raker, member of Congress from California, is chairman. This motion was carried by a vote of 235 to 107, which was 21 votes more than two-thirds of the members present and voting. Because the Suffrage Committee is known to be friendly to the Federal Amendment by a good majority the vote was interpreted by many observers as a test of House sentiment on the amendment itself.

Representative Raker subsequently made a motion to re-refer four of the resolutions embodying the Federal Amendment from the Judiciary Committee to the new Suffrage Committee. As the Judiciary Committee, however, has already reported without recommendation an identical resolution, House Joint Resolution No. 1, which is now on the calendar, the Speaker ruled Mr. Raker's motion out of order. At the Speaker's suggestion, however, a new resolution, identical with House Joint Resolution No. 1, was introduced and duly referred to the Suffrage Committee. This will be favorably reported and both will then be on the calendar.

THE Rules Committee will decide which resolution shall be voted upon by the House. The friends of suffrage prefer that the new resolution, favorably reported by the Suffrage Committee, be decided upon, for the reason that the debate on the floor of the House when the measure comes to vote will then be controlled by a friendly committee. This decision is not regarded as vital to the passage of the amendment, however.

Thanks to the good work that will be put in by our state congressional committees between now and January 10, we expect to go through with a safe majority.

The Rotary Lobby's Busy Week

Converging at Washington

FIRED by the proximity of the action of Congress upon the Federal Suffrage Amendment all other active work in the several state suffrage associations falls into second place to permit the combined state forces to be massed on Washington next week.

What is known as the Rotary, or Traveling, Lobby will be at the height of its activity by the first of the year. A certain number of women will constantly report for duty at the Washington headquarters and a steady march of well-drilled participants will go forward. They will be on call to fill places vacated by those who must return to their homes.

The system works like the divisions of an army. At the head of the Rotary Lobby remains Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the permanent Congressional Committee stationed in Washington. The personnel of this Committee is made up of seasoned workers who have the status of the Federal Amendment at the tips of their skillful fingers. They can cite to a dot and a comma the record of every man in Congress. This is the central committee composing the famous "Front Door Lobby"; for there are no back-stair forces among the suffragists.

THE second line of reserves is formed by a congressional commanding officer in every state. She is not only in touch with her congressmen when they are "back home," but she is the immediate contact point through which the current of influence is kept flowing from Washington to the uttermost parts of the nation.

Each of these women has her own staff of congressional aides spread throughout her state. They are women sensitive to the political sentiment in various sections of the state. They make a last reserve to be called upon for service. Perhaps the work asked of them is skirmish service in the home field. Perhaps it is massed action in Washington. Perhaps it is highly skilled political service at the national capital.

THERE are in all about 250 women, all veteran campaigners, in this Rotary Lobby. New York's twenty-five aides is the largest state group. It is one of the most intensively trained groups, as New York women have not only inherited the longest suffrage history, but have just been through two consecutive campaigns for the vote, thus gaining four strenuous years of experience.

Georgia with 14 aides, Illinois, Massachusetts, West Virginia, and Iowa, with from eight to ten each, can be called upon for quick action. Forty especially picked women from all over the United States have agreed to be on hand early in January for the reopening of Congress. They will remain in Washington until the House votes on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?

Do You Know What You Can Do with Your Vote Now That You Have It?

ALL over the world to-day there is a stir and a rustle, a parting of old curtains of tradition and a stepping forth of women who are about to vote. In some lands, in some states in this land, the curtains have already closed softly back of the women and they are already advancing toward the polls with eager question, the old inhibitions forgotten and forgiven, the new opportunity engrossing attention.

New York's suffrage triumph alone has put forward an electorate of 2,000,000 women, and it is in this great body of emergent voters that the interest of America directly centers to-day, all the suffrage problems of the nation being imminent in them. But back of them stand some 6,000,000 other women voters who have already emerged, and beside them stand all the young men who have become twenty-one since the last election, and all the immigrant host that has been naturalized since the last election.

The enfranchisement of woman, the coming of age of the young man, the naturalization of the immigrant—there you have the three agencies through which the electorate of America is to be kept in a state of action instead of in a condition of being.

AS emergent voters the woman, the young American man of twenty-one, and the immigrant face the same fundamental questions as to the new responsibility and what it means to the man or woman possessing it. The only difference in the three cases is that the woman is asking all the questions that the other two ought to ask but don't. Of course it would be the woman who would ask the questions. For one thing, it doesn't go so hard with women to admit their ignorance as it does with men. For another, woman has had to fight for suffrage while the young man was acquiring it as he acquired his moustache, by the simple expedient of getting older, and the immigrant man was acquiring it by the simple expedient of living in America long enough to take on some of those American ideals and commitments into which the woman, if native, was born; and having fought for the suffrage the fight has informed woman with a special sense of the value in the thing fought for. It has become a thing so vividly desirable to suffragists that they alone would start the questions, but it is not suffragists alone who want the answers. The antis mean to vote, the indifferent mean to vote.

SO woman comes now, en masse, asking every conceivable question, timely, intelligent and fool, pulling the abstraction down to where a person can get her, or his, hands on it and stick a pin in it and hold it long enough to take in the practical significance of it. Through the answers she promises to make it all concrete and near, and an interesting personal matter.

In vain the texts on civil government have, for long years, set forth that "the functions of government may be classified as legislative, executive, and judicial, or as essential and non-essential." In vain these same texts have dug back into tribal lore as the first trench from which to hurl such heavy projectiles as this: "It is only when a given people have tastes and ideas sufficiently similar to allow them to co-operate with one another and to be in substantial agreement as to the character of political control which they desire that they can have a united life under the same government."

Is there anything in that, told like that, to vitalize you or me?

That is not where the emergent voter begins at all. Especially the emergent woman voter does not begin there. The woman voter begins like this:

"HOW soon can I vote? Will there be any special election before the next general election and will I be eligible for it? Do I have to do anything before I can vote? Does the Legislature have to do anything? How will New York, where women have just won, take care of her 2,000,000 new voters at the next election? Will the women go to the same polls as the men? Will there be more polls, or will more voters be allowed to vote at each poll? How did Illinois, how did California handle the matter when their women were enfranchised?

"There's a new mayor about to take office in New York City—he chooses people to help run the business of the city—is he going to choose any women? Is he going to choose the right men? What offices does he pick people for? What does each of these officials have to do? Do I care whom he chooses? Will any of them have anything to do with me or my home or my family or my purse or my business or my husband's business?

"What city officials can I vote for?"

"Can I vote for the assemblymen and the state senators up at Albany? Who is my assemblyman? Who is my senator? What kind of men are they? What's their record on legislation at Albany? Do I want them to represent me again? Do they stand for the things I stand for?

"I HAVE gotten my vote by the action of my state, but if I go out of my state I'll lose it. I don't want to lose it. Why can't this Federal Suffrage Amendment be passed so that I can vote in any state? Can I do anything with my vote to help that along? Just what is my connection through my vote in my state with the Federal government at Washington?"

What the *Woman Citizen* is setting forth to do in the department initiated herewith is to connect with civil government at the exact point where the emergent voter finds herself to-day and to follow her as she asks the question and jots down the answer; pick up with her the trail of voting as a current issue, the news story of the day, and with her follow it on back, if she goes so far, until she finds herself, perhaps to her own surprise, in an enlivening interest in any and all abstractions of civil government and political philosophy.

Probably we shan't be entirely orderly about it. Probably our sequence will not be nearly so neatly irreproachable as that of the civil government texts. Still by linking up directly with the inquiring woman herself we do expect to make with her a journey from municipal to state to federal government that will be a sort of tribute to the sequence of the texts on civil government, if you like.

THE first number on our program, scheduled for the issue of January 5, is the answer to the query as to just where the victory on November 6 put New York women, just what remains to be done to make them eligible to use the suffrage granted, just when they will get the first chance to use it, just what machinery has to be put in motion first, just what limitations are laid on a woman if she is not native-born. New York is taken as the first instance, because of the current interest of its case, but the question will be handled with a view to meeting the situation as it will arise all over the country.

Republicans Arrange Associate Committee of Women

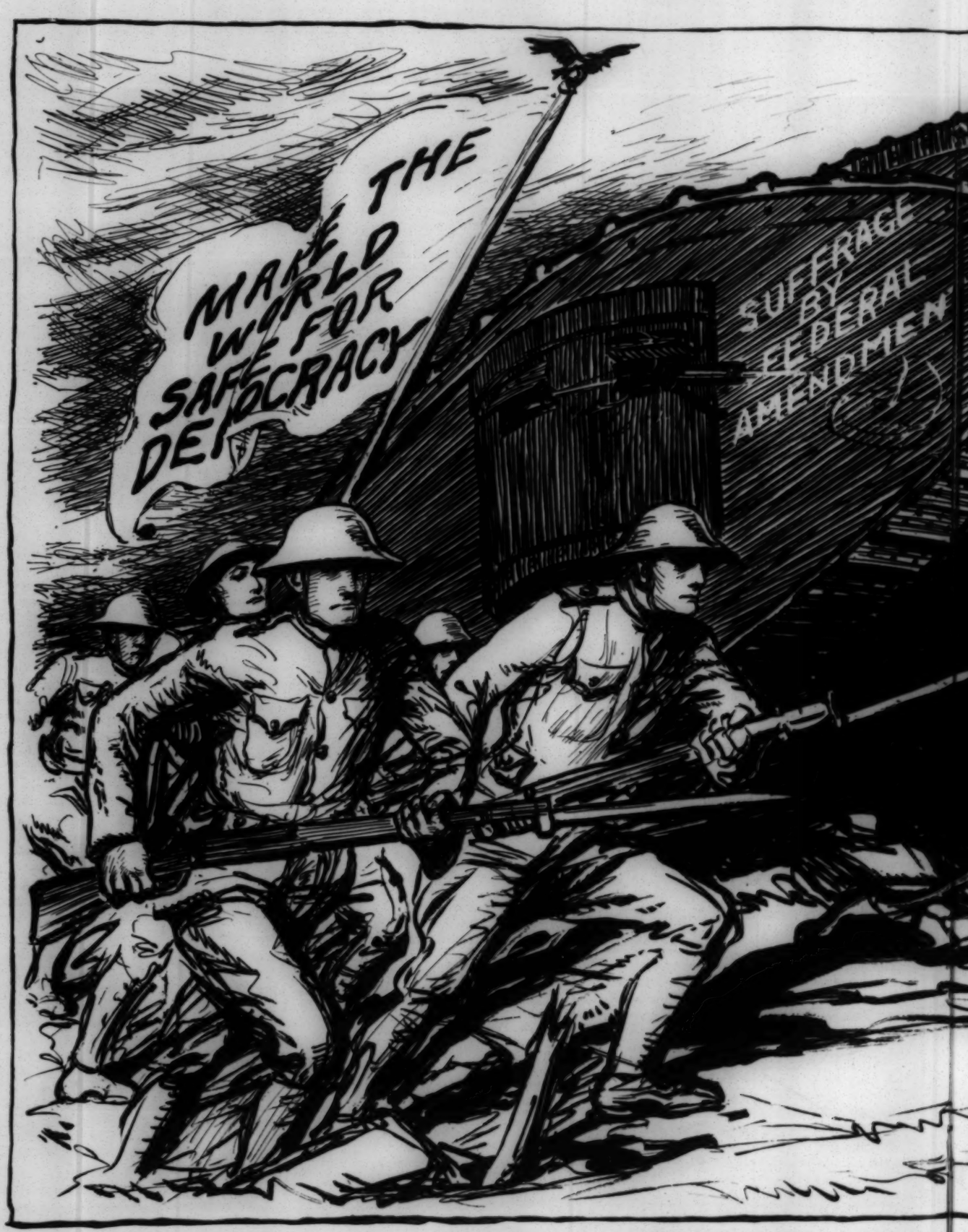
THE report of a special committee, headed by Mr. Frederick C. Tanner, has submitted to the Republicans of Manhattan a series of recommendations concerning the new women voters of New York state. Under this plan a women's division of the Republican County Committee was formed to parallel the existing committee's executive board. Republican County Chairman Samuel S. Koenig, who was empowered to appoint this associate committee of women upon the recommendation of the Women's Conference Committee said that in all probability thirty-six women would be named.

What the Republicans prided themselves upon and proclaimed as an advance over the position taken by the Democrats of Manhattan was stressed by Chairman Koenig and by ex-Chairman Tanner. Chairman Koenig brought it out in his emphasis upon the co-operation of his special committee with the Women's Conference Committee and Mr. Tanner explained it later.

"It is worthy of note," he declared, "that the Republican Party took the first step in giving representation to women on its County Committee. The Democratic County Committee has not as yet made any report on the subject. The Democratic State Committee has given representation to women on its Executive Committee, but instead of letting the women choose their own representatives, the Chairman of the State Committee is picking them himself. Your subcommittee asks the County Committee not to make the same mistake. Our proposition is that women shall choose their own representatives and that they shall be named on the committee, not as a handpicked choice, but as the choice of the women themselves."

Equality of opportunity for women was again emphasized in the terms of the recommendation itself which further stated that the present plan of a segregated woman's division should be merely "a temporary measure" to continue until appropriate legislation be passed and party rules amended so that men and women may vote on equal terms.

"The trend of these recommendations," Mr. Tanner said in urging his report, "is to give in the broadest and fairest terms entire equality of opportunity to men and women in party affairs. This was the intent of the referendum vote, and it should be done without any conditions or reservations. An unquestioned majority has spoken on the subject and that should put an end to all discussion."



Over the Top with the Tank—New York's Boys in Khaki Fighting
Suffrage for the Women Who W

hting for Democracy Somewhere in France Voted Two to One for
no Watch and Work and Wait

THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES

Twentieth Century Bodies to match Twentieth Century Souls

YOU know, as well as the rest of the world, that there has been a great freeing of women's energies during the first two decades of the twentieth century, a great mounting of woman's ambition, a great releasing of her spirit. Eyes open and head lifted, breasting the times, women have discovered the widened horizon, the broadened opportunity. And in the exaltation of spirit that has come along with the discovery, they have discovered, too, that they have bodies that they can wiggle quite agilely at the elbows and knees and move a little at the hips—and for the rest just an iron clamp, something stiff and heavy and laggard that represses the spirit. They have discovered, in short, that they haven't the right sort of bodies to match the victorious spirit of twentieth century womanhood, the sort of body that can carry the spirit on past youth's all-conquering period of vitality, into and through middle age, into and through all life.

CALL to mind, by way of example, the body of the average American woman past forty, compact of flesh and bone. Say she is a club woman—she usually is a club woman these days. To her rousing civic interest and activity she brings the "frozen torso." She stands on the platform and swings you far forward with her theoretical humanitarianism and her practical schemes of application—or would, if she did not delimit the sweep and breadth of it all by screwing her elbows to her sides and trying to stir up the world by thrashing around with her fingers and her wrists. Consider the middle-aged schoolteacher and that precisian's body of hers, how truly and how terribly it can assume the impress of the mental routinism so approved by boards of education. Consider the bodies of mothers how they settle upon the hips, as if in need of crutches.

And that is not the worst of it. That is only the external appearance of it. Within these bodies are housed acute and chronic pains, bodily languors, nerve tensions, headaches and backaches and mental reactions, feeblenesses and indigestions that cripple the soul and cripple the work of the soul.

YET now comes Elise Dufour, rhythmic dancer and terpsichorean philosopher, insisting that these are the bodies that should by right be most satisfactory to the souls within them and most expressive to the world without, because they are the bodies of women who have lived most and know most. And, true to the word, in Elise Dufour's dancing classes you find middle-aged women, in a riot of vibrant, colorful, floating chiffon, running and leaping, posturing and swaying and swinging through the rhythms of the natural dance. "With them," says Miss Dufour, "the response to the joy of rhythmic movement is incredibly swift. You see, they have lived and yet in living have more or less denied themselves the right of the proper use of their bodies. Put them into some chiffon rags, bare their feet, start the music and there is a wonderful liberation. A look of expectant joy lights their faces, as if they were about to enter a beloved country from which they have been excluded for a long time. No matter how awkwardly this type of pupil may start off the interest is so great that all self-consciousness is soon lost. Sometimes a woman will say, 'Do I dare feel as happy as this?' 'Is it right to feel as happy as this?' What she has done to make her feel as happy as that has been simply to force vertebral pressure from the nerves of her back."

SPEAK of the dancing flair of the last few years to some people and you summon to their minds memories of over-heated rooms, air heavy with the odor of lobster and musk fastidiously commingled, small tables, fat-paunched people—the environment native to our best restaurant classes—and, centrally featured a painted, gliding, pretty girl, advancing, retreating, "doing the new steps" to the perennial bedazzlement of putty-faced elderly gentlemen. Speak of it to Elise Dufour and you strike fire from a glowing hope of a people physically buoyant, flashing through sun-lit out-of-door places in the fashion of the ancient Greeks, bodies balanced and controlled, minds open to beauty in art and in life. For, as she sees it, the new dances, whatever else they have done, have aroused a popular interest in dancing such as modern peoples have never before known and once given that interest, says this philosopher of the dance, dancing has a wide and wonderful application to everyday living.

YOU'VE got to go back to the old Greeks if you are any sort of philosopher at all and, true to form, she goes back to the old Greeks for proof that the philosophy of dancing is a detail of the philosophy of life. "They proved, those old Greeks, that a whole people can use dancing as a medium of expression of the highest feelings people can have. They had real breadth of feeling toward the dance. High and low, young and old, cultivated the art. It was an essential element in education and culture. Plato said that the man who found no pleasure in dancing was no more than a rude, unpolished clown. We can get back to that attitude toward dancing if we will. We can train the body; we can make it a perfect instrument for the expression of the loftiest and purest thoughts. Our conventionalities have so bound us that we are now deprived of freedom of body, freedom of expression. The body must be plastic so that it can respond to the rhythm of nature, or of music. In its response it will awaken the creative faculty without which all lives are incomplete. Sights and sounds of nature come to us in pulsations, that is rhythmically. The blowing of the wind through the trees has its rhythm. Falling water has its rhythm—the tones and pitch of Niagara have been recorded musically. The pounding of the waves on the beach is in constantly recurring rhythms. A lot of their fascination is due to the series of pulses in which the sounds come. The wind blowing over the wheat fields does not merely bend the blades, it sways the field in waves, approximately equidistant, rhythmical."

"MY big dream is to make the human body, the race's body rhythmic, so that it may enjoy a harmony within itself which a rigid torso, stiff knees, limbs that express themselves entirely in movements of the extremities are powerless to feel. Modern life is one of details. Small prejudices have stamped our

(*Continued on following page*)

"GETTING INTO HARMONY WITH THE IMPERSONAL."

bodies. The will to have our way, no matter what natural laws we may violate, informs the rigid torso. The sinking down into the pelvis shows it. The stiff knees show it. It is shown by the hard calves of the legs, which seem bursting with determination. Stepping out of prejudice frees the body even more than physical technic can do it. To have body rhythm we must give up The stubborn head must bend in harmony with the spine; the head is always insisting upon leading, upon putting a control, a limit, on all movements; it usurps the body's God-given power just to be."

The glades are so full of rhythmic dancers today, that's it's rather a disappointment not to find one bounding down every alley of trees into which one turns; the streets are full of studios and classes, the teachers are full of pleasant aesthetic insistences; but among them all Elise Dufour stands rather alone in the correlation that she makes between the art of dancing and the art of living.

"The rhythms that dancing specializes in are to be taken into everyday life, so that we may live with our bodies in unison with natural laws and forces." In her efforts to socialize dancing, Miss Dufour has carried her rhythms to working-girls and one profoundly significant night class is made up wholly of them. They come to her from machines and from counters and from typewriters, and she refinds for them and with them that springiness of body and soul which the economic pressure of their lives has all but robbed them of. Their response is so eager as to pierce the whole social fabric with accusation because all this impetuosity, this fine feminine fire of life should get so little chance of expression. With her they renew the body's joy in just being. They forget machines and counters and typewriters and run and leap and swing with a recovered body freedom that frees their aspirations and their courage. "I'm never going to be a victim, not of despair, nor of poverty—I'm never going to be the victim of *anything*!" cried one girl who had somehow danced her way to the spirit's heights. Free-limbed, free-souled, she could, you see, call a challenge to the world and go on back to her machine laughing and strong of heart.

You would expect that little children would be natural rhythmic dancers—and you would

LEARNING HOW TO BE "LEAVES CURLING IN THE WIND."

be quite wrong. "It is curious that children, who should be naturally rhythmic, seem to come into the world cramped," says Miss Dufour. But is it curious? Sons of their mothers, aren't they? In the long run shall water rise higher than its source? "A child's run is often as heavy as lead. Children do not know how to skip. They must be taught. Frequently they are crippled by self-consciousness." To overcome this Miss Dufour takes them back to flowers and animals and lets analogy and example have their perfect work. They are shown how to become leaves curling in the wind, or they are changed into seals on a rock, sinuously turning this way, and that. Or the magic wand of imagination changes them into poppies coming up out of the ground and swaying in the breeze, then caught in a wind that sweeps them into an ecstasy of make-believe. They are bears and swing loosely from the hips; or panthers with great loose shoulders and flat padding feet; or apes springing and clutching with their feet and swinging from bough to bough. "From apes with the clutch of the toes and the reach of the arms, one passes on to the heroic and reaches for the sun."

"Toe dancing," says Miss Dufour, "is a matter only of legs and arms; it expresses no real emotion, only joyous movement. To point the toe one stiffens the spine. The natural movement of the foot is to fold and unfold. With Pavlova the thing people enjoy most is her Bacchanal dancing in which she returns to the natural movements which permit her to express real emotion. It seems strange that one could ever hope to express sentiment standing on a distorted foot, on the tip of the toe, one leg elevated, one hand on the heart, the other stretched out toward the audience. In dances that are natural and inspirational the move-

"OR A POPPY COMING UP OUT OF THE GROUND."

ment must start from the seat of the emotions, the vital part of the body. Each vertebra of the spine must move. When the exercises which awaken the spine and the large muscles of the torso are applied in a glorious dance, one is carried beyond the confines of custom and enriched by the power to harmonize work and pleasure, duty and happiness, activity and beauty, body and spirit. Women, in particular, are swept out of their intensely personal attitude in a great run in which one gives up the whole body. In such a run one seems to be flying out to get into harmony with the impersonal. It loosens a sensitive egoism which is a heavy burden."

It is no new thing, this keen-visioned insistence that women's bodies must be developed into a sounder competency

(Continued on page 96)

"CARRIED BEYOND THE CONFINES OF CUSTOM."

Men and Women

ROOM FOR BOTH

EDITOR WOMAN CITIZEN:

One of my admirers among the suffragists recently sent me a copy of your very interesting publication, with the evident intention of converting me to suffrage.

Looking through such issue I failed to find anything that might change my views on the subject. The same old mushy arguments—if they be arguments—are presented; the same old illogical reasons that have confronted us for 20 years and more.

Just to show why some men oppose suffrage I shall herein present the issue as men view it—I mean the real men, not the emasculated type too commonly met with, too glad to be led by the nose in any direction by one of the "gentle sex."

I shall not especially refer to the important issue of hysteria and sickely sentimentalism that is bound to come to the fore when women vote in all the states. We have had a surfeit of that in the recent presidential election, and more is promised when women become fully enfranchised. It can not have escaped your notice that President Wilson captured all but two of the suffrage states on the issue of hysterical women that "he kept us out of war." And it was implied and understood that he would continue to keep us out of war whatever might be the provocation. That means, if it means anything, that the present brand of women voters have such a fear or horror of war that they would willingly sacrifice everything we Americans hold dear rather than make the sacrifices incident to a justifiable war. Thank God our President proved more of a man and American than silly voting women thought him; that he saw his duty and did it, despite the sickening pacifist clamor raised by shrieking women.

Rev. Anna Shaw holds that the American flag is nothing more than "a rag on a stick." We men believe that flag is the most sacred of symbols; that it is a privilege to suffer for the flag and that which it symbolizes. And until women generally adopt more of an American spirit and less of a "safety first" attitude they are not fit for American citizenship.

As an "unanswerable argument" for suffrage you present: "The war is for democracy. Suffrage is the very sign and seal of democracy." Let us see whether the suffragist believes in democracy.

According to Webster "democracy" means "political or *social* equality." I know you women clamor for political equality, but are you prepared for the social equality that goes with it? You well know you are not; that you want to hold on to every privilege you have while you clamor for the few that men have.

In some few of the states women hold property in their own right, while men hold property in common with their wives. Women can dispose of real estate, even if it be given to them by their husbands, without the signature of their husbands, while it is necessary to have the signature of the wife before his real estate can be disposed of.

Unless a woman leaves a will her property goes to her people. (I know of a case in the District of Columbia where a man gave his house to his wife; she died without leaving a will and the house that the man had slaved for went to her sisters, that the man detested.) If the man dies, he can not, if he would, deprive the wife of her legal share.

Man is compelled to support his wife; while if sickness comes or if the man meets with misfortune woman can turn him out of doors. He has no claim on her or her fortune that the law recognizes. (The only woman presidential candidate, in answering that a few years ago, stated that no "real woman would turn a man adrift under those conditions." I say in reply that no real man refuses to live up to his obligations when he assumes the marital relation; but the law has a legal halter around the neck of one of the contracting parties and not around the other.)

Man is compelled to pay a woman divorced from him alimony or join one of the branches of the "Alimony Club," with headquarters at one of the city jails. If he refuses to pay or has decided objections to a jail as a domicile, he becomes until the debt is outlawed a fugitive from justice, liable to arrest as a common felon whenever he sets foot in his state.

And you know there is, or was until recently, a clamor raised for a "bachelor tax," applied to men only. The "democratic" women would force the unwilling man into matrimony or pay an indemnity to the state for remaining single.

It is no answer to state, as you will, that there are some states that discriminate against women and in favor of men. We grant that, and will help you to the limit to remove every disability from women where such exist. But will you reciprocate and remove the many disabilities from the men in those states that especially favor women?

This is the issue, as I see it: Whether we are to have a government where logic rules or where sentiment is to have the upper hand. Whether men and women are to rule or women to be the dominating force. (Here the statement had again been made by suffragist leaders that "Men had ruled from time immemorial, and had absolutely failed; it is about time that woman tried her hand at government, she can do no worse.") Whether men and women are to have the same laws applied to them—I recognize that women must be protected under certain conditions—or woman is to retain every legal privilege she has and get a few more.

If you fight for democracy, be logical and consistent and fight for democracy all along the line. Do not stop at the issue of the suffrage. Be honest and demand nothing more for women than men have, and be willing to renounce, to be consistent, every privilege you have gained at the expense of man.

Are you honestly in the fight for democracy, for equality of the sexes? It is "up to you" to make good your boasts. Democracy calls for renunciation, for sacrifice. Are you women who shriek in season and out for suffrage willing to renounce any of your legal privileges for democracy? Honestly answer this or forever hold your peace.

Please be consistent, if you can. Do not demand at one and the same time independence while clamoring for dependent legislation. If women are to be equal as they demand, they can not consistently demand unequal privileges.

Yours truly,
SAMUEL SALOMON.

December 20, 1917.

148 Adams street, Washington, D. C.

MR. SAMUEL SALOMAN,
148 Adams street,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In your letter of December 20th there are two or three points which I think are open to discussion, the rather as you cannot be more anxious than suffragists are to have woman's case for political equality rest on a sound foundation of economic equality.

With regard to your strictures on the war situation—it cannot have escaped *your* notice that even if President Wilson was voted for by women at a time when he, and they, hoped that this country could be kept out of war, he has had no more loyal supporters in the conduct of the war, to which the country was finally forced, than these same women voters and the would-be women voters of America. It was the suffrage states that were first in the field with their full quota of recruits and it was the suffragists that were first in the field with a definite program of war work, which they offered to the Government last February, even before war began, and which the Administration has freely utilized ever since.

I cannot let your paragraph about Dr. Shaw go unanswered for the reason that I am sure that it would not be your wish to commit yourself to a story told by anti-suffragists in outrageous perversion of the facts, a thrilling tribute paid by Dr. Shaw to the American flag having been so distorted as to constitute one of the keenest reflections on anti-suffrage methods of propaganda into which even the antis have ever blundered.

When the country's fighters in the trenches commit themselves to woman suffrage in the proportion of two to one, it is clear evidence that women are conceded by those most directly involved in this war for American ideals to have plenty of "American spirit."

There can be no argument between us on the subject of discriminatory legislation in favor of women. Favoritism to one sex at the expense of the other works to no better advantage in economics than in politics, and the goal of the suffrage effort is to do away with these unevennesses all along the line.

Even though it is true that there are offsetting discriminations against women along the exact lines that you cite against men, it remains none the less true that any discriminations against

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Men and Women

(*Continued from page* 94)

men in favor of women can only react to the hurt of women as well as men. I think that most women have learned this, or are rapidly learning it. Almost all such discriminatory legislation against men is to be attributed either to a sort of make-shift effort to atone to woman for the political disability under which she labors, or to the fact that society is prone to consider discriminations in favor of women as being added safeguards for itself. Look at the text of the legislation and the comment on the subject of woman's economic claim on man, as defined by the law, and you will find that it is the welfare of society that is featured as the basic consideration, not the welfare of women. It is, to put it another way, the potential motherhood of woman that society is trying to protect by law. It is not woman as woman who can claim any special consideration.

Alimony, I consider, permits of the supremest travesty of justice to be found anywhere in our social institutions, and I am convinced that the woman who cannot fall back on political disability, and cannot be exploited industrially, will be easily educated into a pride of economic independence which she cannot know under existing social and political limitations. Meantime, it must be evident to all that as society is at present organized extreme hardships can be entailed on wives and mothers who, through no fault of their own, find themselves outside of the marriage bond, the best years of their lives gone in a fruitless home-making effort, and their earning capacity nil.

I find myself in thorough accord with your suggestion that women be willing to renounce every privilege gained at the expense of man. Women who are not willing to renounce such privileges have not the welfare of the race at heart, for neither sex can profit at the expense of the other with advantage to the race. Men and women who are truly democratic are trying to move forward to-day to a plane where both sexes can function fully and freely without either encroaching upon the other.

In view of the fact that the men leaders, not only of the Administration, but of all political parties, are committed to woman suffrage; in view of the fact that the men leaders in education, in religion, in the judiciary, in the professions are committed to woman suffrage; in view of the fact that the men in the trenches are committed to it, I don't see how you are going to sustain your contention that "real men" oppose suffrage—unless you go so far down the line as to take as real men only those ambiguous individuals whose meagre 51 per cent of masculinity is so afraid of their 49 per cent of feminity as to keep them in a state of constant stew and turmoil, lest the latter triumph over the former.

Believe me, Sir, there is room for both men and women in the world and whenever both quit shoving the world will quickly become adequate for both, and for their children.

Very truly yours,

THE WOMAN CITIZEN.

December 21, 1917.

Death of Another Noted British Physician

WITH the death of Dr. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson on December 17, British suffragists have undergone a second severe blow within the past month, the first having been in the death of Dr. Elsie Inglis on November 26. Dr. Anderson was another woman physician, one of the most famous in Great Britain.

When she studied medicine, the prejudice against women physicians was so great that the College of Physicians and Surgeons refused to give her a degree. Her doctor's degree was conferred upon her by the University of Paris.

But when the war broke out in England, the country that had refused to recognize her professionally was glad to claim her help in its time of need. Shortly after the beginning of the war, Lord Kitchener asked her to establish a military hospital of 500 beds in London, the British Government bestowing the rank of Major upon her in connection with these duties.

Dr. Anderson was a sister of Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, the president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of Great Britain. As young girls, both sisters worked with John Stuart Mill and John Bright for the enfranchisement of women of the British Isles.

Dr. Anderson was the first woman in her native land to be mayor of a town. She was elected mayor of Aldeburgh, Suffolk, in 1908. American women join with British women in mourning her loss.

That Question of Election Cost

By Mary Sumner Boyd

IN the suffrage campaign of the last two years the opponents of woman suffrage have rung the changes on financial conditions in the equal suffrage states. Bankrupt of other convincing evidence that woman suffrage has any effect whatever on state finances, they have surpassed themselves on the item of election cost in a city's budget, an item which runs in various cities from a fraction of one per cent to two per cent of total city expenditures.

There is no gainsaying the fact that this item must become larger as the number of voters becomes larger, though the increase is by no means the "double" which the opposition talks about.

Cost of elections will be used against us time and again in our campaigns. Next year we shall be charged with New York's extravagance also, so it would be well to know at the start just how New York and Chicago, the next greatest suffrage city, compare.

The suffragists during the New York campaign used an "Economy Flier" which compared the cost of elections in New York and Chicago in 1915, vastly to the advantage of the latter, both in cost per capita and in cost per vote. This was prepared several months before the figures of the 1916 vote were available. An anti-suffrage advertisement brought out the figures for the 1916 election which show Chicago costing considerably more than New York, and accused the suffragists of willfully suppressing these figures. This of course was not the case. Furthermore, the statement in regard to the cost in 1915 is as good now, and proves as much for the suffrage city as if the 1916 figures did not exist.

A VOLUME on the cost of elections, issued in 1915 by the Chicago Election Commissioners, brought out the many elements besides the number of voters which entered into the cost and showed by figures back to 1906 that Chicago in some years before woman suffrage paid more per vote than in the years 1914 and 1915; paid lump sums in some of these earlier years quite out of proportion to the lump sums under woman suffrage, and in one year, when men alone voted, paid over $100,000 more than in the year 1915, though the number of voters in this earlier year was almost 2,000,000 less.

A table of ten large cities in this report shows that in the years compared, 1914 or 1915, Chicago was one of the most economical in its election expense; only one of the ten cities, all but one of which had male suffrage, actually costing less *per vote* than Chicago, and four costing more than Chicago *per capita*. These figures show that in New York a vote cost $1.60, as against 57c. in Chicago; that in New York less than 950,000 votes were cast at an expense of over one million and a half, as against more than 1,370,000 in Chicago at an expense of only about $785,000. Thus, more than 400,000 less votes in New York cost that city very nearly twice the amount spent in Chicago. Further, the *per capita* cost of the elections compared was 27c in New York; 32c in Chicago. *This means that on Chicago's population, the New York election would have cost no less than 60c per capita.* To analyze further in terms of registered voters, the cost per registered voter in New York was $2.29; the cost per registered voter in Chicago, was $1.09. This was in a year in which Chicago and New York had the same amount of election activities.

Comparing now the figures for 1916: New York at an expense of $1,634,450 had in this year two primaries and a general election, in all three election activities. Chicago at an expense of $2,500,000 had no less than eleven.

Into the Chicago election report just quoted and written by Dennis J. Egan, Clerk of the Election Commissioners of Chicago, Mr. Egan (on p. 55) showed that *one element* in the high cost of elections in 1916 would be the woman voter, and he estimated that she would *increase the expense one-third*, which is exactly the amount that a recent letter from him shows her to have increased it.

HIS second reason for the large cost to be expected in 1916, is a statute requiring a complete reorganization of the election machinery of Chicago. This cannot be charged to the women voters, for they had voted for two years without it. They were simply a big piece of reorganization such as may not happen again for a decade or more. Place this over against the small number of election activities in New York in that year, and the reason for the disproportionate expense in Chicago will be evident at a glance.

Election officials from various cities and states have estimated that the actual additional cost of the woman voter is from a little under to a little over one-third, and this is what Mr. Egan's figures, both in his estimate and in a report after the election, show that the women of Chicago actually cost; that is 800,000 out of a total bill of two million and a half. This third is what the women will cost New York city next year. On the basis of the 1916 expense this will mean a total election bill of a little over two million and a half. This third is very different from the anti-suffrage claim that the woman's vote "doubles the cost of elections."

WHATEVER use our opponents may make of Mr. Egan's voluminous report of election cost, he himself never intended it for a criticism of woman suffrage, for he says in a passage curiously eloquent for a document so dry:

"It is customary in our day and age to weigh the value of an enterprise in dollars and cents. Sometimes it is a just determination of values, sometimes not. The distinction between just and unjust lies in whether you test by this standard the cost of election which *must be in high proportion to the democracy of the suffrage*, or cost of conducting elections, which must be reduced as far as possible." He holds that the former cost is entirely justifiable, for, "to swell the expression (of the popular will) to the fullest possible volume is the duty of public officials and law-makers and one of the foundation stones of American civil government."

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Miss Barnum served on the Federal Industrial Relations Commission and is a member of the National Women in Industry Committee, advisory to Council of National Defense.

Twentieth Century Bodies

(*Continued from page* 93)

if the full potentiality of the so-called woman's movement is to be realized. Brainy women of the last century foresaw that development as a crying need, not alone for woman, for the race, and put it poignantly forward. Writing in the woman's political paper of the seventies, *The Revolution*, Elizabeth Cady Stanton said: "We ask our readers to look through their whole circle of friends and see if they can find one mother of a family healthy, vigorous, high-toned in mind and body. . . . If we would change our homes from what they now are, mere hospitals for the diseased and dissatisfied retreats of joy and rest, our wives from fretful invalids to vigorous companions in the world of thought and work, we must lay the foundation now in the physical education of our girls."

WE have made progress since then. Today almost any of us can look through her whole circle of friends and find one happy, healthy, vigorous mother, high-toned in body as in mind. But there are still not enough. And the demand for more is wider-spread today, and better understood as relevant to the whole woman movement. Not only are teachers like Miss Dufour, and great exponents of the dance like Isadora Duncan, insisting upon it; women leaders, exponents of the thought of the times, have taken it up as part of their evangel. Charlotte Perkins Gilman has long been stressing it. Beatrice Forbes Robertson-Hale, herself a roundly efficient woman, is laying special emphasis upon further physical development for women, along with a dress reform that shall conduce to it.

Perhaps Elise Dufour's special contribution is her practical application of the idea. She sets it to poetry and music, it is true, but she passes it on to you as concrete as you are, for you to take into your philosophy of life, along with your food and drink.

One can't be sure how far it will work. The twentieth century finds us pragmatists here below. But meantime one can't quite escape that liberated look on the faces of the women who are trying, under Miss Dufour's supervision, to find twentieth century bodies to match their twentieth century souls.

Bread and Butter Philosophy

Cottonseed Flour Yeast Bread

⅛ cup water, 1 tablespoon sugar or 1 tablespoon molasses, 1 tablespoon fat, 1 teaspoon salt, ½ cake compressed yeast, softened in some of the liquid, 1 cup cottonseed flour, 2 cups wheat flour.

Combine ingredients. Mix into dough and knead. Let rise until double original bulk. Knead again. When again double in bulk, bake about 45 minutes.

(A Texas contributor, Mrs. Elenita T. Kirkpatrick of Paris, Texas, who sends the above recipe, writes that cottonseed flour bread, as yet in its infancy in the South, seems destined to grow into great popularity under the stress of war time economy.)

Rye Yeast Bread

1 cup liquid (milk and water), 2 tablespoons sugar, 1 tablespoon fat, 1 teaspoon salt, ½ cake compressed yeast, softened in 2 tablespoons water, 2¼ cups rye flour, 2¼ cups wheat flour.

Combine ingredients. Mix into dough and knead. Let rise until double original bulk. Knead again. When again double in bulk, bake about 45 minutes.

Yeast Oatmeal Bread

1 cup liquid (milk and water), 2 tablespoons sugar, 1 tablespoon fat, 1 teaspoon salt, ½ cake compressed yeast, softened in ¼ cup liquid, 1 cup rolled oats, 2½ cups wheat flour.

This proportion makes one loaf of bread.

Scald liquid and pour over rolled oats, sugar, salt and fat. Let stand until lukewarm. Add yeast softened in warm water. Add flour and knead. Let rise until double the bulk. Knead again and place in pans. When light bake 45 minutes to 1 hour in a moderate oven.

Hoe Cake

2 cups cornmeal, 1 teaspoon salt, 1 teaspoon soda; hot water to make a batter like the usual cake. Mix well and pour on a hot, well greased griddle. Bake over a moderate flame until the bottom side is nicely browned. Turn with a pancake turner, or by turning out on a plate, put the top side down and bake until brown. More grease should be added when the cake is turned. Another way is to make the batter thinner, place by spoonfuls on the greased griddle and bake until quite brittle.

Oatmeal Bread

½ pt. oatmeal, 1 heaping teaspoon of salt; pour over this 1 pt. of boiling water, allow it to cool. Add a scant ½ cup of molasses, with a pinch of soda stirred in; 1 teaspoon of butter or lard; ½ cake of yeast, dissolved in luke warm water; 1 quart of flour (either whole wheat or white), mix well and set to rise over night. Mold quite stiff and put in two ordinary bread pans. Let rise and bake half an hour. Wholesome and good for children.

Butter and Butter Substitutes

The Department of Public Health of the American Museum of Natural History has come to the defense of oleomargarine. "The name 'oleomargarine' to most persons conveys something which is to be shunned, yet they cannot give any reasons. These prejudices have been handed down from the days when unscrupulous manufacturers tried to pass off oleomargarine as real butter, and were none too careful of the ingredients."

From a public health standpoint the department does not hesitate to say that oleomargarine is safer to-day than butter. "Under the United States Internal Revenue laws not only do all products entering into its manufacture have to be passed by a Government inspection, but every step in its manufacture is under strict sanitary supervision, and all utensils, apparatus and individuals coming in contact with the product must be kept clean. The same cannot be said of butter manufacture, where cream from any source may be used and the process conducted in some instances under circumstances far from ideal."

The following ingredients are generally used in oleomargarine, though the composition varies:

Oleo oil	20.25%
Neutral lard	40.45%
Creamery butter	10.25%
Milk, cream and salt	5.30%

A heavy tax is imposed when this is colored to imitate real butter, hence its pale color in the markets, which on many persons has a psychological effect. Denmark, Norway, and Holland use huge amounts of oleomargarine. Even Great Britain uses eight times as much as the United States. The consumption per capita of oleomargarine in 1909 was:

United States	1¼ lbs.
Great Britain	8¼ "
Holland	20 "
Norway	33½ "
Denmark	43 "

Oatmeal Cookies (Rocks)

1 cup sugar, ¾ teaspoon salt, 1 cup fat, 2 eggs, ⅔ cup sour milk, 2 cups raw rolled oats, ½ cup cut raisins, 2 cups flour, ½ teaspoon soda, ½ teaspoon cinnamon, ½ teaspoon cloves.

Mix sugar, salt, melted fat, and eggs. Add sour milk, rolled oats, and raisins. Add flour, soda, salt, and spice sifted together. Drop from a teaspoon into oiled pans, leaving an inch space between cookies. Bake in a hot oven.

Rice Batter Cakes

2 cups boiled rice, mixed soft with milk; 3 eggs, ½ pint of flour, teaspoon salt, 1 teaspoon melted butter. Fry in a very little lard in a skillet, say about three cakes at a time.

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The Woman Citizen and You

¶ Every subscription to the *Woman Citizen* carries it a little farther on its way to the 100,000 names we are driving for in 1918.

¶ The National American Woman Suffrage Association has a membership of 2,000,000. If 5 per cent. of these members will come forward in 1918 and pledge themselves to support their official magazine its future is assured.

¶ Class magazines of every description, from those printed in the interest of iron and steel to those concerned exclusively with religion, are supported by the persons vitally interested in the subject discussed. The *Woman Citizen* can be no exception to the rule.

¶ The yearly subscription price is $1.00, a smaller price than is paid for most text books. If the magazine is read in the coming weeks only for the help it will be in matters political, the dollar spent for it will be well invested.

¶ If your subscription is about to expire do not let it lapse but *renew* it *now*, and thus help the *Woman Citizen* to hold its own. If your subscription has been renewed, interest your next door neighbor or some other acquaintance or friend in the magazine and get their subscriptions for it.

¶ If you will send us two (2) *new* subscriptions and will renew your own for one year we will give you the three (3) for $2.60. The price of the new subscriptions is $1.00 each, which makes your renewal cost 60 cents and is equivalent to the regular discount of 20 per cent. paid to agents for new subscriptions. *No discount is allowed on renewals except when accompanied with two (2) or more new subscriptions.*

¶ We told you last week about the "Intensive Circulation Campaign for the *Woman Citizen*" which was planned at the Washington convention, and is to be started immediately by the state associations to help in the work of getting 100,000 subscribers to the magazine in 1918.

¶ There will be localities which the state work will not cover, and it is from persons living in these places that we expect to secure most of our co-operating subscribers.

¶ If 100 suffragists will pledge themselves to become co-operating subscribers to the *Woman Citizen*, each agreeing to take ten (10) subscriptions to the magazine or to get ten (10) of their friends to subscribe to it, 1,000 new names will be added to our subscription list. One hundred represents only .0005 of our 2,000,000 membership. We know from experience what suffragists can do when a big piece of work is to be accomplished. Suppose we had 1,000 co-operating subscribers. Think what that would mean! Ten thousand new subscriptions! A goodly number when considered in terms of *new* subscriptions! Not alarmingly large when we remember that it means only one-half of one per cent. of our membership!

¶ Pledge cards for the use of co-operating subscribers are being printed and literature concerning the plan is in preparation.

¶ Send in your name at once for a pledge card and become a co-operating subscriber.

STRAIGHT EDGE

Industrial Settlement

IV

I hire this column to discuss good citizenship from an unusual angle, expecting financial results in which any reader, this paper in common with thousands of others, may share. AVERY QUERCUS

DISTRIBUTION of the proceeds of industry is another problem of good citizenship that goes hand in hand with the ownership of industrial property, discussed in my last article. The dollar-unit represented by the plant, and commonly known as "capital," takes precedence over the human unit, the "help," in the distribution of surplus earnings.

This is not necessarily the case, for the "help" has the right and the opportunity to organize and own property and administer it democratically, and have the proceeds, if it is willing to pay the price.

But "help" is usually ignorant and shiftless and timid, depending on "capital" for initiative and responsibility, while "capital" is shrewd and efficient and arrogant, and expects "help" to keep its hand out of the management, and to be content with its wages, no matter what the surplus earnings may be.

A PLAN of organization that will enlist the workers in the management and keep "capital" in its proper sphere, with no power to dictate to the workers, but with proper assurances that its interests will be safeguarded, is being worked out by the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement.

Each worker is employed at his "market value" the same as in any other business, but with the understanding that after a certain period, he or she will receive a grade based on efficiency and length of service, and will share in the surplus earnings of the Straight Edge Industries in proportion to the said grade.

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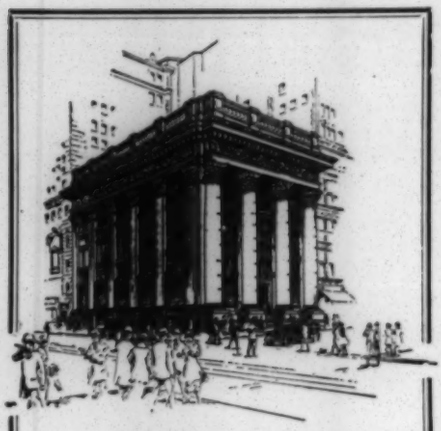
This makes a democratic method of distributing surplus earnings, and makes every worker directly interested in the business.

On December 15, 1917, forty-five graded workers received amounts ranging from $7 to $116, every dollar representing a "point" that has been awarded by common consent of the associated workers.

Besides this industrial division, $290 was placed in the hands of an Emergency and Insurance Committee, to be disbursed at their discretion, either in the form of loans or as outright gifts.

It will be a help to any reader of this paper who becomes interested in this series of articles, in getting into the spirit of the Straight Edge enterprise, to read a booklet which I wrote several years ago and which is printed by the Straight Edge Press, entitled "The Honorable Charles Rockingham Ducketts," being a few of the reasons why those who have riches find it hard to enter into the common life of humanity, which is the kingdom of heaven. Enclose a dime for it in a letter addressed to the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement, 100 Lawrence Street, New York. If you don't happen to have a dime, send for the booklet anyhow, and I will see that you get it.



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